M /19 cont./
*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.
[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

[882] (8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[527] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[584] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who
[851] become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get married. After a son is born, they then say they have a
[167] descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

[291] (9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[302] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[782] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[769] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.

000 from their necklaces. They like dancing, songs and music. Their
533 instruments are the flageolet and flute with organ pipes or sen. The
534 latter is composed of a stout tube ending in a metal mouthpiece, in
535 the middle of which are inserted six organ pipes of varying length, pierced with holes at their base. To play this instrument one blows into the mouthpiece while holding the large tube in both hands at arm's length, at the same time closing certain of the holes on the organ pipes with the fingers. Thus nasal sounds resembling those of a bad accordion are obtained. This music is always accompanied by a somewhat grotesque dance in which the musician himself engages. Holding the instrument at arm's length in a very inconvenient way, he leans his body forward from the hips and, skimming over the ground with his feet, he starts hopping from one foot to the other, while turning about to the right or to the left. This heavy and graceless exercise reminds one of the dance of a bear at a fair. The Meo also play a small jew's-harp which is made up of a thin strip of brass
[562] which vibrates against the teeth. Women neither dance nor play musical instruments, but love to sing in shrill voices like a small girl, while working in the fields.

273 We shall see farther on that all the ceremonies are accompanie by feasts lasting several days. In addition in the high region the Meo /142/ have the reputation of being the mountaineers most inclined to drunkenness. Happily for the future of their race, the altitude at which they live and the arduous work to which they devote themselves are elements which combat the dangers of alcoholism.

844 Customs relative to childbirth are not remarkable. No sign
●851 marks the house of a woman in confinement. A woman in labor seats
848 herself on a tabouret to give birth to her infant, assisted by her mother or midwife. If the new-born child is a boy, the placenta is buried in front of the main doorway, and if it is a girl, under the kitchen hearth As among the Tho, bastards are given a very poor reception. If an attempt to bring about an abortion has not been successful, the mother is forced to leave her infant to die of hunger.

584 Marriage preliminaries are shorter and less complicated than among the Tho. When a young man desires to wed a young woman, he tells his father about it, and he sends two of his men friends, selected from among older and respectable persons, carrying sticks of incense, in order to make the proposal. The sweet-smelling sticks are stuck into the soil and lighted in front of the doorway of the young woman's parents. If the master of the house offers a drink of alcohol

/32 cont./

597 Married couples may adopt any number of children; no limits are set. In connection with the adoption of a strange and [582] purchased child, the ancestors and the god of heaven are offered the same sacrifice as I described in the case of the adoption of a child belonging to the sib. From now on the adopted child [428] bears /33/ the family name of the adoptive parents and is qualified to inherit just like an own child. In relation to the latter there is no difference in the treatment and legal position of the adopted children. They are by no means treated as servants, but [851] are received into the family community with the same ceremony as a newborn child of one's own sib (cf. the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Naming and Admission into the Family Community"). Once the adoption is completed, the old family no longer has any jurisdiction whatsoever over the child given up, and conversely the new family cannot claim any rights for this child from its former family.

597 184 According to information by Dhuraratsadorn (1), among

1. Page 167.

the Meau in Thailand parents are not permitted to adopt a child if they have a son. If they have only daughters, however, and wish to perpetuate their family, it is said that they adopt a boy from another family, who then marries one of the daughters and carries on the name and the family of the adoptive parents. If a married couple is childless, however, it is said that they are permitted to obtain only a boy of a related family. If this, [595] too, is not possible, the wife, according to the author named, must procure a concubine for her husband, with whom he tries to perpetuate the family. I did not find confirmation for these statements.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/51 cont./

A M 842 The birth of boys is much preferred to that of girls by the men of both peoples, because boys strengthen their own family community, whereas girls strengthen a foreign one. Meau mothers wish for an equal number of sons and daughters. Nevertheless, the preference for boys does not go as far as A M 858 some authors assume. Contrary to their views, I often had the opportunity to observe that both parents were touchingly affectionate toward children of both sexes, and sick girls were treated just as well as sick sons. One of my Meau informants, M [164] [123] for instance, had an eighteen-year-old daughter who had an especially sensitive skin which reacted to the prevalent scabies with a form of dermatitis. Her father repeatedly came to me, asked me to cure his daughter, and promised to give me anything I wanted.

b) Naming and Admission into the Family Community

M ● 851 The solemn admission into the family community takes place among the Meau on the third day after the birth, not counting that day. Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in this connection

1. Page 173.

that three to /52/ seven days after the birth a sacrificial festival is held for the spirits of the clouds. Presumably he is referring to the ceremony which I shall describe below on the basis of my own observations and experiences. Savina (1) describes the

1. II, p. 225.

ceremony somewhat differently: "Do not ask what the baby is called. It does not yet have a name. For the moment it is called 'the one who cries.' In the case of some tribes the nearest relatives come on the third day to greet the child and to give it a chicken and a cap. Coins, the teeth and claws of animals, and the like are often hung on these caps. The chickens

/52 cont./

851 are eaten immediately, and their blood is sprinkled on a piece of paper which is then pasted on the wall opposite the entrance [776] door. Chicken feathers are pasted around this paper in honor of the tutelary divinity Xa Xing."

I myself made the following observations:

[782] [775] A pair of chickens, a cock and a hen, is sacrificed to the pair of spirits who introduced the soul of a deceased ancestor into the newborn child (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul"). These [231] two animals are killed by having their throats cut, are plucked whole, eviscerated, and cooked. Some of the chicken blood is allowed to drip on the paper of the spirits and is burned while the spirits are invoked. At the main entrance of the house in which the birth took place, a small basket is set in the frame of the opened door, the pair of cooked chickens is placed upon it, and two incense candles are attached. Now the shaman appears and throws his ordeal /oracle/ horns (see the chapter, [787] "Religion and Magic," section on "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens"), in order to find out whether the omens may be regarded as favorable. Next he begins to evoke [782] the souls of the deceased ancestors. For this purpose he lights the incense candles and puts the sacrificial chickens on their breasts, that is, with their backs upward, and their outstretched legs pointing toward the open door. Then he stands erect in front of the door of the house, with his back turned toward the interior, and murmurs conjurations.

While they are going on, for the better part of an hour, [521] those present, relatives and friends in addition to the parents and children, converse with one another loudly and undisturbed. [854] The mother with the newborn child, which was washed for the first and probably the only time until it is able to walk, /53/ sits somewhat apart in the room and holds the baby on her lap. Her husband does the housework, sets the room in order, looks after the food which is cooking on the hearth, and, in short, goes about his business. A second child, about three years old, [853] is shouting at the top of its lungs and is jealously trying to get his little brother away from the mother's breast so that he himself can drink. He is prevented from doing so, however, by the mother.

/53 cont./

851 787 Meanwhile the shaman has finished his conjuring, seizes the chickens, and cuts them up in order to examine the omens (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens"). First he takes out the tongues of the chickens and observes the hyoid bones for a long time; then he strips off the skin from the front of the heads and likewise carefully observes it. Finally, he takes the feet of the animals, holds them in the smoke of the incense candles, and also studies these omens. If they are unfavorable, it means that evil spirits are close by, from which the ancestors cannot protect the newborn child. In this case, the shaman must first drive away the evil spirits, and then the whole ceremony must be repeated. If the shaman discovers that only part of the ancestors have appeared, the conjuration must be performed again in the same way at the end of the month. This is repeated until the omens are favorable.

851 608 If the omens are favorable, however, as in this instance, the sponsor steps forward, and the child's mother addresses him as follows: "May my child one day be as great and powerful as you are." If the sponsor has special characteristics, they are also appropriately mentioned. The sponsor now ties a piece of string first around the right wrist and then around the left wrist of the child. This is supposed to protect the newborn [789] child against evil spirits and at the same time signifies that the sponsor assumes the sponsorship. With the same piece of string one of the child's wrists is tied to his own, whereupon he makes a little speech in which he expresses his good wishes for the child and promises to fulfill his duties as a sponsor. Then the sponsor hands the mother the first clothing for the child or silver amounting to the price of the clothing so that it can be bought by the parents. A modest festive meal in which all those present, including the shaman, participate, concludes the ceremony.

The completed ceremony means that the sponsor will always receive the child /54/ in his house whenever he visits him, and that he will help him as much as he can. Conversely, the same obligations are incurred by the child toward the sponsor. The children of distinguished persons sometimes have two sponsors.

/54 cont./

851 608 123 [787] During my visit to the Meau village of Nam Fa in northern Thailand I was asked by the Meau Tua Sen Kun to assume sponsorship for his newborn son (1). I was told that it

1. Bernatzik, IV, pp. 188 ff.

was regarded as an auspicious omen that I, a powerful foreigner, was present in the village at the time of the birth.

551 As names for boys those of famous ancestors are preferred on the ground that boys continue the family. The child may also be given the name of the sponsor. For girls one chooses at will a name which, like all names, has a special meaning. A sharp distinction is made between names for boys and those for girls.

	Names	Meaning
Boys:	lū	pure
	pǎu	surety, guarantor (2)

2. Cf. the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," section on "Property Law."

	tsü	has everything
	fō	to have many children to care for him
	tsǎn	to grow
	pǎn	to flourish
	tsuń	bud
Girls:	tsǎy	slender
	yí	round
	ltsǎy	fearful
	tsá	plain
	mǎy	good
	ltsǫ́a	green leaf

/92 cont./

836 [562] With regard to the boys, however, the parents are positively proud of the successes of their sons in this respect. The chief, Tsin Tsai, for instance, told me that his second youngest son was especially clever with the girls. He had surely inherited this from him, because in his youth he had been called a "tiger among the girls"!

848 [842] It is strange that illegitimate children are relatively rare, although I was repeatedly told that no contraceptive devices are used. If a girl gives birth to an illegitimate child, however, the families concerned immediately change their attitude, /93/ and the parents of the lovers forcefully insist on the marriage of the young people. The girl is ready for this under all circumstances, but it sometimes happens that a young man wants to evade his obligation. In this case both families [626] put such pressure upon him that he practically always gives in. If not, he is obliged to pay any indemnity that the girl's [684] parents demand. If he is not in a position to do this, he has to marry for otherwise he would be severely punished by the chief of the village.

627 848 If a young man should deny paternity, the testimony of the girl, or the young mother, is valid in doubtful cases. She summons her parents and those of the young man and leads them to the place where she had her meetings with the young man. She describes details which almost always force the young man to withdraw his denials. Moreover, in the generally small communities, it is probably always known "with whom a girl is going," as my informants said. On the other hand, if the [851] seducer pays the price asked by the girl's parents, the matter is regarded as settled, and the illegitimate child remains with the family of the mother and belongs to this family.

114 847 848 In contrast to my observations, separate authors report that the Meau try to get rid of illegitimate children through abortion or at the latest after the birth. Lajonquière (1),

1. II, p. 317.

for instance, writes: "If a child is conceived out of wedlock,

/111 cont./

M 587 "Courtship and Betrothal" in this chapter); if the husband dies, however, among the Meau the oldest of the younger brothers of the deceased usually takes the widow or widows into his house as his wives. It is up to each individual, however, to choose whether or not he wants to take this course. Matters are usually arranged so that the widows who are old and have many children become the wives of the brother of the deceased; the young and pretty widows, however, who do not as yet have many children, marry an outsider. The brother does not have to pay a purchase price for the widows, but the outsider must pay approximately the sum paid for a girl, with the price adjusted according to the number of children and their youth; M [614] the fewer and the younger the children of the widow are, the higher the price, which is shared by the membersof the sib.

A 587 [292] /112/ Among the Akha the widow again goes to the dancing places with the young girls, after she has removed the veiling of the bamboo cover of her head adornment (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments"); and henceforth her behavior does not differ in any way from that of the girls. In general, however, it is about six to twelve months before she decides to enter another marriage, in which case she must leave her children with the family of the deceased. If she does not want to do this, she has no other course but to renounce any new marriage. As A [589] a consequence, Akha women who are somewhat older and are richer in children usually do not marry again, whereas young women with few or no children usually take the course of re- A marriage. Among neither the Meau nor the Akha, however, M [614] [851] do widows return to their original sib; if the widow was pregnant at the time of the death of the husband, the posthumous child belongs to the sib of the deceased, but later children belong to the new husband.

M 586 [769] Aside from the dissolution of marriage through the death of one of the spouses there is such through divorce. It is rare, however, because among the Meau it is regarded as unacceptable to the ancestors. Savina (1), too, writes that divorces are

1. II, p. 226.

/112 cont./

586 769 extremely rare and usually the parents straighten out the matter. If there is a divorce nevertheless, the ancestors are not informed and no sacrifice is offered, lest the ancestors' attention be drawn to the unpleasant fact.

586 837 Among the Meau a husband has no divorce-right. This is only logical since it is possible for him to marry another girl at any time. The wife, on the other hand, can get a divorce, though this is somewhat difficult. To begin with, the only grounds for divorce for her is her own marital infidelity and her flight with the seducer. First of all, therefore, she has [558] to find a man who is willing to shoulder the unpleasant aspects of adultery and the ensuing loss of his prestige.

[684] If the adulteress refuses to return to her husband, the adulterer and seducer, or his family, must repay the bride price to the deceived husband. If he is not able to do this at once, he must pay it in installments, /118/ and this may sometimes take a long time. All of the woman's children [851] who were born before the complete recovery of the bride price belong to the former husband. The future children belong to the new husband only after the final payment of the bride price.

Moreover, the adulterer sought must be able to take upon [614] himself the enmity of the family of the husband, which is no [578] easy matter if this is a powerful sib. It is precisely in such [595] sibs, however, that unhappy wives are the most common. The husband is often old, has several wives, and is able to buy his new wife by reason of his money. She, in turn, had looked forward to a different life and instead is treated badly by the wives superior to her, but especially by her mother-in-law, whereas the husband pays no attention to her.

Since the regulations mean a heavy burden for the new husband, it is not easy for a wife eager for a divorce to obtain her freedom.

586 648 587 [583] If the wife of a Meau sees absolutely no way out and yet wishes to leave her husband, she turns to a Chinese trader (see the chapter, "Trade"). They travel around a great deal and know all the Meau villages and the conditions prevailing among

/191 cont./

787 If a Meau dreams that his house is on fire or that he is fleeing, it bodes ill fortune for the inhabitants of the house in which the sleeper is resting. It is likewise unfavorable to dream of tigers or an inundation. Misfortune is likewise imminent if in a dream a tree, a horse, or a cow falls.

If in a dream one sees people engaged in pounding rice, /192/ then all depends on the color of the rice. If it is white, it is regarded as a good omen, whereas black rice is regarded as a bad omen.

Special good luck is indicated by dreams in which one sees a hen with many chicks or people in new clothes, or shallow water, or if one dreams that a new year has begun.

787 851 Besides the attention given to the omens described and others, and to dreams and soothsaying, an oracle /Ordal, literally "ordeal," but used here in the sense of "oracle"/ is also consulted among the Meau, as was described above in connection with the conjurations by the shaman in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section on "Naming and Admission into the Family Community." [123] It will be recalled that in every case my presence in the village, as that of an influential stranger, was regarded as a good omen, and, after the oracle had been consulted, I was asked to be the sponsor of the newborn little boy. At that time, the chicken oracle was used, whose procedure I have already described. If the skin on the head of one or both animals of the sacrificed pair of chickens had been black or spotted black, if the hyoid bones of one of the animals had not been parallel or if the chickens' toes had not run together toward the front, but instead had stood out sideways, especially the first or third toe, everybody would have been convinced that the ancestors would not be able to protect the child against the evil spirits that were present and that these would have to be exorcised before the child could be received into the family community. On the other hand, if two of the omens had been good and one bad, this would have been regarded as a warning sign, indicating that great caution was needed. In [609] such case any stranger would have been denied entry into the house of the newborn baby. Thus, as this witnessed example 787 indicates, among the Meau there is a direct connection between